Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 45 | 267 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1953 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

U.S. Profits System Heads Toward Depression and War

How We Began And Where We Are Going

By James P. Cannon

(The following address by James P. Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of The Militant when it published its first issue 25 years ago on Nov. 15, 1928, was delivered at the New York meeting on Oct. 30 to celebrate a quarter-century of American Trotskyism. Comrade Cannon was greeted with a rising ovation. This is a transcription from a tape recording.)

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The first speech I made for the program of Trotsky was at a meeting just about this size 25 years ago this week — it was a joint meeting of the Central Executive Committee, Control Commission, the functionaries and goon squads of the Communist Party. They rose up too (laughter), but not in so friendly a manner as you did tonight, when I hurled into their face, for the first time, the announcement that the banner of struggle against Stalinist revisionism and degeneration was going to be raised in this country and fought for.

I recall that meeting and that speech tonight with pride, because that's where our party began. It began in struggle, for principle, as outlined in the teachings of the great Marxists all the way from Marx and Engels to Lenin and Trotsky. I'm going to make the same kind of speech tonight.

But first I want to tell you it's a great joy and satisfaction to be here with you tonight, to join in the celebration of our 25th anniversary. And it's especially satisfying that the celebration of our glorious anniversary is held in connection with an election campaign meeting, that it is linked to an action in the class struggle, of which election campaigns are a part.

That is symbolic of the character of our party — not as a critical propaganda circle of wiseacres, but as a part of the working class, participating in the fights of the workers and trying to rouse them to action in their own interests, even when they as yet fear to speak, and some of them even fear to listen.

The party throughout the country is proud of Local New York for this great campaign, by far the best, the most militant, the most genuinely Trotskyist campaign we have ever conducted. For that the whole party gives its thanks to our candidates, David Weiss and Cathy Gratta and Joyce Cowley, and to all the rest of you who helped to make the campaign possible, helped to contribute one more great action, to stamp on the minds of hundreds of thousands of workers the fact that there is one party, even in the midst of all the reaction and the witch hunt and the indifference, that is not afraid to tell the truth, and tells it, straight.

Imprisoned and Slandered

I don't think I need to tell you that I'm strongly in favor of these candidates. I am. I gravely regret, however, that I can't vote for you Cathy, and Joyce, and David, because they took my vote away from me. That's one of the things I'm sore about. During the Second World War, I suppose most of you know, they put me and 17 other comrades in prison, because we were opposed to the war and we said so — out loud.

But they weren't satisfied just to put us in prison. They slandered us, accused us of disloyalty to our country. And I resented that. Because I love this country and I'm loyal to it. All I want to do is to get it back into the hands of the people who made it, and take it away from the 60 families and the other grafters and hangers-on who've stolen this country from the people who made it. **I consider our whole work of organizing this party, which is going to organize the masses in struggle for a revolution, as nothing more nor less than an operation for the recovery of stolen property. There's nothing disloyal about that. The accusation is a slander (Applause).**

All this talk of disloyalty is a slander added to the indignity of depriving us of our liberty, which was an injustice. And then on top of that, because we had become convicts, they took our vote away from us. That's when I really got mad. They said that since we belonged to the Socialist Workers Party, we had to go to prison. And then because we had been in prison, we couldn't vote for the party we belonged to. They got us on a run-around there, and I'll never be reconciled until we get our vote back, and get our country back, and either tear down these damned prisons or put some other class of people in them. (Stormy applause.)

I want to talk a little bit tonight about the party. The Socialist Workers Party represents a program, first of all and above all. This program, as Engels once expressed it, is the conscious expression of the unconscious historic process which is operating relentlessly and inexorably to transform society from capitalism to socialism. But when we say that we and our program are the conscious expression of this unconscious historical process, it does not mean that we are simply observers, analysts and commentators. Just because we are the conscious expression of the historic process **we also have the duty to participate in the process and help it along. That's the difference between a party of action in struggle, and a mere circle of academicians, analysts and observers. Quite different.**

It has also been said by Engels that we, the Marxists, the revolutionists, represent the future of the labor movement in its present. That is another excellent and accurate way to present it. But we don't merely represent the future in the present. As active revolutionists, we strive, by every means, every day, by every form of activity, including such great activities as you carried on in this election campaign — we strive to transform the present into the future at a little earlier date.

The program we stand on goes back a long way. It is by no means our invention, by no means new. It goes back, in an unbroken line of continuity, to the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels of 105 years ago. Our party goes back to that program along an unbroken line of con-

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Spirited Rally Climaxes SWP Campaign in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Oct. 30 — One of its most spirited and best-attended rallies in years was held here tonight by the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of its 25th Anniversary and the wind-up of the party's city election campaign.

The rally responded enthusiastically to the words of David L. Weiss, candidate for mayor, Joyce Cowley, candidate for comptroller, and Catherine Gratta, candidate for President of the City Council, who ably chaired the meeting.

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP and its founder, was the principal speaker.

Discussing the accomplishments of the party's election campaign, Weiss said that "during this campaign we spoke on radio and TV to hundreds of thousands of people. I am convinced that hundreds of them were won toward our ideas. I am equally convinced that many more times that number will be won tomorrow."

Pointing to the low registration, Joyce Cowley said, "This expresses the widespread belief that none of the major parties are concerned with or will do anything about the problems of the workers. It was a privilege for me to express the ideas of our party in this campaign. **It was an opportunity to express the feelings of the workers who today remain silent. Tomorrow that silence will turn into a mighty roar of protest."**

The entire audience arose in a spontaneous ovation as Catherine Gratta introduced James P. Cannon, "the man without whom the 25-year history of American Trotskyism truly could not have been written." (The full text of his stirring address begins in an adjacent column.)

NEW FRIENDS ATTEND

Along with the many active party members and sympathizers who attended, scores of new friends participated who were brought by shopmates or fellow-students or were attracted by radio announcements.

The spirit of the meeting was eloquently expressed by the generous response to Catherine Gratta's appeal for funds to aid the SWP activities. $144 was collected.

The rally opened with splendid renditions of American labor and folk songs and Spanish Civil War songs by Timoteo, talented young guitarist and singer.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the participants gathered around TV sets and watched Weiss and the American Labor Party candidate for mayor being interviewed on the Barry Gray program. **To the question, "What is the difference between your parties?", Weiss underscored the anti-capitalist nature of the SWP program, while Clifford McAvoy explained that the ALP "supports the present economic system" and aims to pressure the major parties into "keeping their promises."**

18,365 VOTES FOR BARBARIA IN S.F. POLL

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 5 — Frank Barbaria and Mrs. Frances James, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, received 18,365 and 15,259 votes respectively for Supervisors in Tuesday's election. Local newspapermen declared themselves "astounded" by the high votes for Barbaria and Mrs. James, who ran on a socialist anti-war program, for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay and for an independent labor party.

The total votes cast were 218,961, only 57% of the ballots in the previous election, when the SWP candidates received about 10,000 votes, or little more than half of this election's tally for Barbaria.

In a hard-hitting campaign, the Socialist Workers Party here took its program directly to the organized workers in the unions. The two SWP candidates spoke on the campaign issues before 47 union bodies, as well as 17 other organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, United Latin-American Club and the Spanish-American Club.

"The many individuals who supported this socialist campaign spent many hours going into the working class districts, knocking on doors and visiting to talk about the real issues of the election — stressing the need for a genuine labor party and selling copies of **The Militant**, the paper that along with the SWP endorsed the two working class candidates," said James Nicholas, campaign manager for Barbaria and Mrs. James. "Often persons who had never heard of the SWP before commented that the most impressive and sincere of all the candidates were Barbaria and Mrs. James."

Hail the Militant Army!

An Editorial

Twenty-five years ago, on Nov. 15, 1928, **The Militant** was born. It is a difficult job to publish a fighting socialist newspaper in the richest capitalist country in the world.

But it is precisely in this country that the powerful ideas of Marxism are most necessary. **The Militant** provided these ideas to the workers in continuous publication for over a quarter of a century. This was an historic achievement.

It would have been impossible without the valiant Militant Army. The Militant Army is composed of devoted and fearless fighters who operate in all kinds of weather — climatic and political.

They are the pluggers who have brought the Militant to the picket lines in the periods of stormy labor struggles.

They faced the cops, the fascists, the American Legionnaires, the Jim Crow racist mobs, the company thugs, — and got the paper to the workers rain or shine.

They braved the gangs of Stalinist hooligans, who harrassed and beat our distributors in the early years, and the goons of the labor bureaucracy.

They are the people who got subscriptions in house-to-house campaigns, in the factories, in the unions and sold the paper on the streets.

They are the people who, especially in the early years, hocked their valuable possessions and went without eating to save the paper and pay the printer.

They wrote for **The Militant** from the firing line of the class struggle. They didn't have official titles. They didn't care about fame. They are the unknown and unsung heroes of the 25-year history of **The Militant**.

We salute the Militant Army on our 25th birthday. This Army will swell its ranks. It will send its patrols to every corner of the country wherever labor works and fights. Join the Militant Army. Subscribe. Get subs from your friends and shopmates. Get the truth to the workers. Only the socialist truth can set us free.

Only Labor Can Avert Disaster

By Art Preis

American capitalism is heading for depression and war. The private profits system holds out no hope for economic security and peace. The organized working class, by taking the fate of this country into its own hands, alone is capable of averting catastrophe.

This is the prospect we see ahead as **The Militant** enters the second quarter-century of its publication. As in our first issue of Nov. 15, 1928, when we warned American labor of the depression and second world war that lay ahead, so in this issue marking our 25th anniversary we tell American labor: There is no hope under capitalism.

Socialism alone can guarantee the peace, plenty and security we seek. The means of production and distribution must belong to the people as a whole. They must be operated under the control of the workers, with national planning and without profits.

The armaments expenditures are continuing. The U.S. armed forces in Korea, Japan, West Germany — half the countries of the globe, in fact — are being maintained and expanded. Government expenditures remain close to their all-time "peacetime" high. Yet, even the Korean War level of government spending is not enough to keep the American capitalist economy from showing serious symptoms of decline.

War spending and the speedier approach of H-Bomb annihilation are all that the Big Business leaders and their political agents offer as the means to keep the shaky economic structure from speedy collapse.

Thus, C. E. Wilson, former General Motors president who heads the Defense Department, at his latest press conference reassured his scared fellow-millionaires and billionaires that there is always war spending to fall back on to keep their profits flowing in at the "normal" rate. He told them:

"The rumors that defense spending will be cut to such a point that it will adversely affect business aren't true."

INSOLUBLE PROBLEM

If he means "adversely affect profits," he may be right, because the tax laws have been rigged to keep profits high even if sales and production decline. But the workers are already being adversely affected, by the millions, through loss of overtime pay, cutbacks to part-time work and outright lay-offs. Every worker waits in trepidation lest he be next in line for a pink slip.

At the heart of the insoluble problem of the profit system — as **The Militant** has analysed it for 25 years — is the tremendous accumulation of idle capital that Big Business cannot convert into "useful" — that is, profitable — capital investments. American capitalism is being literaly choked by a titanic total of $88-billion of working capital that cannot "find a home," unless it be in other lands. That is the cancerous source of war and depression that fatally afflicts American imperialism.

Capitalism cannot be cured. American workers must build a whole new system of their own. They must build a party of their own and a government of their own to establish the new social order that history sets as our generation's supreme task.

Sen. McCarthy's investigators, Cohn and Schine, each drew $74 a day for their junket around Europe last spring investigating "subversion" and waste. This was in addition to transportation costs since the pair got free rides everywhere from the Military Air Transport Service.

Our Founding Editor

JAMES P. CANNON

Elections Show Shift Away from GOP

By George Breitman

Political currents in this country definitely have shifted since the Republican sweep in 1952. The upset election of a Democratic Congressman in a normally Republican Wisconsin farm district last month was confirmed by the Nov. 3 elections as the beginning of a trend toward the Democrats. This trend points to the strong possibility that the Democrats may recover control of both houses of Congress in the 1954 elections.

In industrial New Jersey, a traditional Republican stronghold in non-presidential years, a liberal Democrat, Robert Meyner, won the governor's seat by a landslide over Republican Paul Troast. The GOP accepted the backing of the Hague machine in Jersey City, and resorted to redbaiting against Americans for Democratic Action, which backed Meyner. The Republicans also got an endorsement of Troast from Eisenhower. But that didn't stop the Democrats from winning their first gubernatorial election in the state since 1940.

Eisenhower also endorsed the GOP candidate for Congress from the 6th District in N. J. This seat, which the Republicans won by a 54,000 margin last year, has never been held by a Democrat. But a little-known Democrat won on Nov. 3.

MARCANTONIO QUITS ALP

As was expected in New York City, Robert Wagner, the Tammany-New Deal candidate running with the support of most of the labor leaders, didn't have much trouble getting elected mayor. Rudolph Halley of the Liberal Party ran third, behind the Republicans. Halley's candidacy looked formidable only three months ago, when it seemed the conservative Impellitteri would be his Democratic opponent, but it wilted when he ran against a New Dealer like himself and when he failed to gain any labor support outside of the AFL garment workers.

Clifford McAvoy of the American Labor Party, who got 104,000 votes in the contest for City Council President two years ago, ran fourth with only 54,000 votes. **Thereupon, former Representative Vito Marcantonio resigned as ALP state chairman and quit the party. He said it would become more "a mimeograph machine rather than a political party."**

But outside of New York City there were numerous surprises in municipal contests. In Buffalo, the Democrats won the post of mayor and control of the City Council, ending eight years of Republican rule. In New Haven, a Democratic mayor took over for the first time in eight years. In Columbus, a Democrat upset all predictions by winning the office of mayor — the first time in 18 years the GOP lost it. In Akron, O., a Democrat became mayor for the first time in ten years.

In Cleveland, O., a Democrat won in the race for mayor, replacing another Democrat, Thomas Burke, who was appointed to the U.S. Senate. But this too was regarded as an upset because the successful candidate ran without the support of a large part of the regular Democratic machine, and a GOP victory had been expected.

GILT BEGINNING TO PEEL

Naturally, the Republicans made some gains in municipal contests too, but theirs were fewer and less important than those chalked up by the Democrats. Viewed as a whole, the trend was away from the Republicans in both the East and Midwest. A special election on Nov. 10 to fill a congressional seat formerly held by a Republican in California also has the GOP high command worried.

It is only one year since Eisenhower was elected, and the gilt is beginning to crack and peel on the Eisenhower myth. In September the Gallup poll reported that 75% of the people queried thought Eisenhower was doing a good job as President (this is not the same thing as saying that they would vote for him). **But just one month later, on the eve of the Nov. 3 election, the same poll reported a drop to 65% in his popularity — the lowest point it has reached since he took office.**

OTHER CONSEQUENCES

This indicates that falling farm prices, cuts in overtime work and the beginning of layoffs in the plants are proving more potent than the artificial glamor which the political ad-men and ballyhoo-artists built around the general. Eisenhower staked his prestige in the Nov. 3 elections by calling for the victory of all the Republican candidates, but it didn't do his party or himself any good.

The Democrats, of course, are the first ones to benefit from the decline in Republican strength. But the failure of the GOP to consolidate and hold onto the positions won last year will have other and more far-reaching consequences: **It will counteract some of the moods of pessimism and conservatism created among the workers after Eisenhower's election, and will encourage workers to engage in more militant strike and political actions. And that's what's needed to hasten the day when the labor movement will break with the capitalist politicians who control the Democratic Party and form an independent labor party to fight in the true interests of the working people.**

Secretary of Agriculture Benson has set 42 2/3 cents an hour as the "fair and reasonable" minimum wage to be paid Louisiana sugar cane workers.

Our Militant Paper Alone Has Told the Truth

By Murry Weiss

The members of The Militant staff have for some time been preparing for this 25th birthday of our paper, which coincides with the 25th anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party. Part of the preparation was to look through the files of The Militant. What an experience! Through these years The Militant has become a rich storehouse of Marxist treasure. The keenest revolutionary thinkers of the international workers movement provide some of their most lucid contributions to socialist thought in our pages. Leon Trotsky, for example, was a regular contributor from the period of his exile from the Soviet Union, (1928) to the day of his assassination by the Stalinists in Mexico on Aug. 21, 1940.

Students of Marxism will undoubtedly assemble all of Trotsky's writings for The Militant and publish them in more accessible book form. The Militant files also contain a comprehensible record of international working class struggles, particularly the great theoretical and political disputes in the workers' vanguard. This record likewise constitutes an invaluable tool for Marxist scholars.

While searching through The Militant files we became determined to bring to our readers some of these treasures of Marxism during the coming period. In these lines, however, we can deal only with some of the basic conceptions and principles that were formulated in the founding years of our paper and have remained our guiding principles to this day.

STALINIST REVISIONISM

Volume 1, Number 1 of The Militant on Nov. 15, 1928, published the first installment of Leon Trotsky's fundamental work, "The Draft Program of the Comintern, A Criticism of Fundamentals." In this work, Trotsky demolishes the revisionist theory of establishing socialism in one backward country, a theory which means in affect abandoning the international revolution. He establishes that this reactionary, nationalist bureaucratic theory is a break from the whole theoretical tradition of Marx and Lenin.

Stalinism, like all revisionism, attacked the foundations of Marxist theory — in the name of Marx and Lenin! In this way it covered itself in the eyes of the workers with the authority of these revolutionary thinkers. Therefore, it was imperative that this fraud be exposed.

Trotsky showed how this theoretical departure from Marxism-Leninism could be the source of future betrayals of the working class and would lead inevitably to the degeneration of the Communist International. In a chapter entitled, "The Theory of Socialism in One Country as a Source of Inevitable Social Patriotic Blunders," Trotsky traces the previous degeneration of the Second International from its revisionist roots to its collapse in the First World War. The root error of the Social Democracy was also to substitute the conservative national thinking of the labor bureaucracy for revolutionary internationalism. Trotsky said:

"The worker who clearly understands that the fate of the Soviet Republic and hence his own entirely depends on the international revolution will fulfill his duty in relation to the USSR much more energetically than the worker who is told that what we already possess is nine-tenths of socialism."

The subsequent course of history showed how the Stalinist line, based on the theory of Socialism in One Country, demoralized and defeated the working class in one country after another.

WORLD PERSPECTIVE

In this first installment of a "Criticism of Fundamentals," the basic world perspective of Marxism in this epoch is explained. Trotsky brings to the center of his analysis the role of United States capitalism in relation to Europe and the world:

"It is precisely the international strength of the United States and its unbridled expansion resulting from it, that compels it to include powder magazines throughout the world among the foundations of its structure — the antagonism between the East and West, the class struggles in Old Europe, uprisings in the colonial masses, wars and revolution. This on the one hand transforms the United States capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force in the present epoch, becoming constantly more interested in the maintenance of order in every corner of the globe, and on the other hand prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion of this already dominant and still increasing world imperialist power."

Little need be added today to this remarkable analysis of the central axis around which capitalism is spinning to its destruction. American imperialism has grown like a monstrus tumor; it has already ruined the whole capitalist world. The revolutionary upsurge of the post-Second World War period has already destroyed every last vestige of historical stability for the capitalist system. Now the United States itself stands before the glowing prospect of a socialist transformation with depression and ruinous war the only alternatives the capitalists can offer.

In the Nov. 15, 1928, issue of The Militant the Trotskyists counter the American Stalinist illusions about the health and durability of the capitalist boom. They show how the boom has already developed the elements of a bust and forecast the great crisis of 1929:

"American capitalism is about to reach the apex of its growth. . . further expansion leads American capitalism to further and more drastic attacks upon the standards of life of the American masses and to an attempt at an armed redivision of the world market and spheres of imperialist domination, both of which only further intensify these contradictions leading to the downfall of American imperialism. **In the light of the above, the present economic depression must inevitably become the forerunner of a deep-going crisis. . . The depression cannot be viewed merely as a 'normal' cyclical depression having only slight and passing effects. On the contrary, because of the qualitative changes which are taking place in American capitalist economy every such cyclical depression intensifies to the highest degree the contradictions of capitalism, undermines the deeper the entire structure eventually leading to deep-going crises."**

Two years later when the "deep crisis" was in full swing the American Stalinists turned 180 degrees. From pessimism regarding the prospects of the American workers, from opportunist enchantment with the flashy capitalist boom of the twenties, they switched to the ultra-left insanity of the "Third Period."

They depicted the situation as immediately revolutionary and squandered the resources of the radical movement in wild adventures based on bureaucratically conceived timetables and orders to "take to the streets and fight for power."

OUR MARXIST ANSWER

The Militant of Feb. 15, 1931 gives a Marxist answer to this ultra-left phrasemongering of the Stalinists:

"The crisis still continues in its downward sweep. . . But to present this as the final crisis of American capitalism would be false. It is still the world dominant power within a declining capitalist imperialism."

Showing how the economic crisis, which put millions of workers on the breadlines, has become a social crisis of world capitalism the Militant made a realistic appraisal of the situation:

"There is not a 'widespread workers radicalization,' nor a 'revolutionary upsurge of the American masses' at the present time. To proceed from such a fictitious analysis can lead only to fundamentally false conclusions and isolation. . . **But the situation is full of promising potentialities for a rise in the labor movement, for its entering into a more active resistance and struggles for its needs."**

This forecast of the coming awakening of the labor movement from its state of shocked helplessness in the depression to a new militant upsurge was constantly hammered at in the early years of The Militant.

The platform of the Communist Opposition (Trotskyists), published on Feb. 15, 1929, says:

"The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized basic industries. . . The party must turn its face to these unorganized masses, put itself at the head of their strugles and lead in the work of organizing them into new industrial unions. . . In this protracted struggle on all fronts extending over a period of years the decisive break of the workers with the ideology of capitalism will be effected and the genuine class movement of the workers will be built."

These were the two points that the Trotskyists fought for from the first: 1) Organize industrial unions; 2) Break with the ideology and politics of capitalism.

The Trotskyists were always fighters in the class struggle. They were never mere sideline critics. All the work of the founding years laid the basis for an independent revolutionary party of the American workers that participates in the mass struggles of the workers every day. Comrade Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant's first editor, wrote in the Feb. 15 1931 issue on the effect of the boom of the twenties on American radicals:

"The post-war prosperity, which depressed the entire labor movement to a low point, facilitated this passive attitude. 'Nothing is happening. Let us wait and see' became a sort of platform for many during this period. **People who had been concerned with the problem of making a revolution turned to the problem of making a living while awaiting further developments. But what now? The economic crisis is smashing all this calm routine."**

Declaring that "revolutionary health requires exercise" Cannon pointed the way to active participation of the revolutionists in the preparatory struggles for the "time of storm" that lay ahead.

As the wheels of production came to a virtual halt and America took on the appearance of a country afflicted by some great and devastating plague, the labor movement was confronted by the life and death struggle to survive and to take up the fight for the needs of the unemployed. The Militant called for immediate and adequate Government relief. On Dec. 1, 1930, we outlined the program for a fundamental struggle against unemployment:

THE 30-HOUR WEEK

"The central point in such a program must be the SIX-HOUR DAY AND THE FIVE-DAY WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY! If the 8-hour day was the slogan of the militants 50 years ago, the 30-hour week is an even more timely one today, in consideration of the technical advance of industry alone."

This demand, which has become known in the modern labor movement as 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, was the starting point for the elaboration of the whole program of transitional demands and slogans such as the cost-of-living escalator clause of American Trotskyism which has entered into the consciousness and experience of the American working class.

On July 26, 1930 the Militant attacked the Fish Committee one of the first Congressional witch-hunting bodies:

"Commissioned by Congress to investigate Communist propaganda for the overthrow of the government, the Fish Committee was in reality an expedient to distract attention from the misery of the unemployment crisis. . . It is imperative to arouse the widest possible movement against this Fish Committee. . . Elihu Root has already advanced the idea of creating a special secret federal police . . . to spy more effectively over the revolutionary workers . . . **the coming storm and stress period in the class struggle will mark more and more vicious attempts to place heavier shackles on the labor movement. The Department of Justice will be more extensively subsidized and its stool-pigeon activities re-enforced. The industrial espionage system will be intensified. . . The criminal syndicalism and sedition laws of the various states will be brought into more frequent play."**

With the approach of World War II, the Federal Smith "Gag" Act supplanted the repressive state laws. It was used for the first time in 1940 to prosecute 18 Trotskyist and union leaders of Minneapolis and to jail them for their opposition to capitalist war.

The Militant has waged a struggle for the defense of all victims of the witch-hunt persecution down through the years. From the struggle for the release of Mooney and Billings to the defense today of the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act trials, the Militant has fought for the basic principle of working-class solidarity in defense of civil liberties.

The fact that the Stalinists systematically violate this principle, as they did in the Minneapolis trials, is one of the most damning proofs of the treacherous character of their party.

The Trotskyist movement is a revolutionary movement. Therefore it has always been a movement of youth. On June 1, 1929, the Militant published the first letter from Leon Trotsky on "Tasks of the American Opposition." In this letter, he said:

"Every member of the Opposition organization should be obliged to have under his guidance several young workers, boys from 14 to 15 up, to remain in continual contact with them, help them in their self-education, train them in the questions of scientific socialism, and systematically introduce them to the revolutionary politics of the proletarian vanguard . . **Those who are afraid of rough work we don't want. The calling of a revolutionary Bolshevik imposes obligations. The first of these obligations is to struggle for the proletarian youth, to clear a road to its most oppressed and neglected strata. They stand first under our banner."**

As we embark on the second 25 years of our fight for socialism the Militant will rally the working-class youth of the generation to the revolutionary banner. The youth of today are looking for a revolutionary philosophy and program. They are disgusted and repelled by the decay of the capitalist world which can offer them no better future than atomic war and depression. Our paper and the Socialist Workers Party will find a road to the worker and student youth with the socialist message of hope and struggle.

These are some typical headlines in The Militant during the late twenties and the thirties. At the bottom is the historic first issue of Nov. 15, 1928, with its declaration, "For the Russian Opposition!" The Opposition was the militant workers in the Soviet Union who, under Leon Trotsky's leadership, fought the Stalinist degeneration. Other headlines tell of the great strike victory of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544 in 1934, the Trotskyist campaign calling for a working-class united front against Hitler, and Roosevelt's moves toward dictatorial power before World War II.

The first issue of the Militant after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, declared: "Defend the Soviet Union." It called for a revolutionary workers' defense of the nationalized property in the Soviet Union against Nazi capitalism. Other headlines tell of the Socialist Workers Party's fight against fascism in America, leading a series of huge demonstrations against native fascists, like Father Coughlin's Christian Front, from New York to Los Angeles in 1939.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chicago Militant salesmen are warming up for the 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilizations to begin Nov. 8. Literature Agent **Alice Wiley** reports sales of 77 papers in the past week. "We feel we are making a good beginning for the national sub campaign," she writes. "This week **Bert, Marj** and **Jacki** sold 14 **Militants** at an NAACP membership rally.

"**Benny** sold five copies at the University of Chicago. **Elaine** sold 13 copies at the CIO-PAC rally. And 25 copies were sold on one of the newsstands. In our work on the South Side semi-slum area we sold 20 **Militants**, and one sub was sold.

"Comrades **Dee, Mari, Bert, Alice, Dot, Benny, Bernie, Jacki** and **Elaine** participate in this door to door work each Saturday afternoon. 'The Chicago slums, what to do about them?' and our program is our major talking point. We find this an excellent project which will eventually pay off in new recruits to socialist ideas."

Minneapolis writes to increase their **Militant** bundle order in preparation for Anniversary sales. Literature Agent **Helen Sherman** writes, "This is a starter. We hope to increase it still more. Look for another extra order for the **Militant** Anniversary issue when the time approaches.

"The new sub sent in from the office last week was obtained by **Millie** from one of her regular customers at the Labor Temple. Consistent sales in front of a union hall make new readers for **The Militant** and new friends for socialism. Over a period of time, here in Minneapolis, Millie has made this record. She also brought in one of the enclosed renewals. The one-year renewal comes from a militant convinced socialist friend who lives out of town." Helen reports good sales also of **Fourth International**, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism.

Congratulations go to the comrades in **Flint** who sent in 16 **Militant** subs in the past two weeks. This response indicates good possibilities for the coming Militant mobilizations.

New York wound up its **Militant** sales and distributions in connection with the local election campaign this week. Literature Agent **Murray Forbes** reports that over 1,200 copies of the election campaign issue of **The Militant** were distributed to workers at street meetings, forums, and rallies this past week. He writes:

"At many of these meetings the appearance of **The Militant** evoked a sympathetic response. Many workers who have never heard of **The Militant** before have become acquainted with it as a result of its widespread distribution, sales, and constant reference to it by our candidates over radio and TV. **The Militant** has become synonymous in the minds of hundreds of workers with a fighting party and a socialist program.

"Here is the week's roundup: Oct. 27, 800 papers were distributed at an ALP rally by **Johnny T., Johnny A., Manny** and **Meryl**. Oct. 28, a distribution by three comrades at a CIO rally for Wagner. Oct. 30, at an extremely well attended and highly enthusiastic combination rally of the Socialist Workers Party, celebrating the windup of its local election campaign and the 25th anniversary of the party, 60 copies of **The Militant** were sold.

"Nov. 1, **Pauline** and **Berta** sold 10 copies at an election forum held by the Community Church. Here, as at previous meetings, **The Militant** was recognized by those attending the forum. On Oct. 30, David L. Weiss, appearing on Barry Gray's television show, had a chance to show the front page of the latest issue of the paper to the television audience. Once again this served as an indelible reminder that **The Militant** is a newspaper fighting for workers' demands and fearlessly expressing the truth."

CHICAGO
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M. Marten
Turkey Dinner with all the Trimmings $1.25
HA 7-0403 Nov. 21

PHILADELPHIA
Fri. Night Forum
presents a talk on
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Speaker:
George Lavan
Militant Staff Writer
Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 P.M.
Militant Labor Hall
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How Socialist Workers Party Began and Where It Is Going

(Continued from page 1)

tinuity, and by that same token is connected in its actions with all the actions and efforts of all the working class of all countries of the world for 105 years; and all their experiences, all their victories and defeats, are assimilated and generalized into the program of the party today, and are a part of our strength and our confidence.

More specifically, in this country, the Socialist Workers Party goes back to all the great struggles and movements of the past, of the American working class, and represents their tradition too. So we speak here not only for ourselves. We speak for all those who went before us and broke the trails for us, and whose banner we carry, and whose cause we represent.

We are the direct descendants and the sole heirs of the Haymarket martyrs of 1886, the pioneer fighters for the eight-hour day, to whom every union man who enjoys a shorter workday and union conditions today, whether he knows about it or not, whether he ever heard their names or not, owes a debt of gratitude that some day will be recognized. We go back to the old Socialist Party of the time of Debs, which roused a whole generation to an elementary understanding of the class struggle, and to the movement which they created, which made it possible for us to build on, and to be here today. We are the direct descendants and heirs of the old IWW, the heroic IWW of Bill Haywood and Vincent St. John and Frank Little.

And we are also the heirs and the sole continuators of the early Communist Party in this country, which was founded in 1919. It grew up out of the left wing of the Socialist Party which had fought the struggle against the first imperialist war, and out of a section of the IWW which had suffered persecution of all kinds in its strikes and battles during the war and the pre-war period.

That whole movement of left-wing radicalism of the American workers which was unified and given a sharpened program by the great Russian Revolution of 1917, was all brought together and concentrated in the Communist Party as it was launched in 1919. That's where we come from. We come from the party that took shape in the fight against the first imperialist war, out of the cadres of American radical workers who first responded to the great Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

The Origin of Our Party

The Socialist Workers Party is the heir of all of that. It represents all of that. And we can say proudly that in its 25 years it has represented it honorably and creditably. In addition to all that has gone before us, on which we built, and which is part of our strength and our confidence, we have made our own contribution in 25 years of battle.

We date the origin of our party to 25 years ago, because it was at that point when it seemed, for a time, that the chain of continuity of the revolutionary movement and of revolutionary thought and revolutionary program was almost broken. Under the impact of world events, the reaction that set in after the first revolutionary post-war wave, the old program of revolution, the old program of Lenin, was revised and discarded by the usurping clique of Stalin that had gained power in the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party in this country had been softened up by the long prosperity, the long period of hopes deferred. Its leadership had turned conservative and Stalinized — and it seemed for a moment that continuous line of revolutionary activity according to the program of Marxism was suddenly about to break. But not everybody gave way. Not everybody capitulated.

Those who resisted the degeneration in this country found inspiration and guidance from the writings of Trotsky in far-away Russia. Trotsky was conducting the great heroic fight against the degeneration, against the revision and discarding of the program. And we who heard his voice, who had the opportunity, after many years of suppression, to get hold of his writings, revolted against the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern and of the Communist Party in this country. We raised the banner of Trotsky on October 27, 1928.

That's why we trace the origin of our party, the origin of the SWP as a distinct party, of our own making and our own building, to that day, 25 years ago this week, when a small group in the Communist Party raised the banner of Trotsky and his program. They expelled us for that, and we struck out on a new road, to build a new party, to replace the one that has been corrupted and degenerated, to build a new party on the old program.

The issues that were raised that day, at that meeting, have been put to the test of 25 years — and surely, those have been the biggest and the most eventful years in all history. I think no one can deny tonight that the test has shown who was right and who was wrong. You have it vividly illustrated at this very meeting in the speech of David Weiss, recounting the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against the whole capitalist war set-up and his scornful denunciation of the campaign program of the miserable Communist Party, wiping the spittle of Wagner off their faces and still saying "vote for Wagner."

In that alone is strikingly illustrated the verdict on the dispute that was raised in the meeting 25 years ago — who would be revolutionary and who would capitulate. And by showing who was right, and who was wrong, the events of the last 25 years have shown to whom the future belongs. The future belongs to those who link themselves with the progressive course of the historic process and help it along. The future belongs to those who stand firmly by the program.

That wasn't so clear to many people in October 1928. Now, if some comrades, feeling the weight of the long war-boom and the conservatizing effect of it on the working class, and on the labor movement, and the accumulated effects of the reaction and the witch hunt — if they find that it is not so easy to stand firm for revolutionary principles and to be active and aggressive for them — if you think it's difficult now, I can tell you there have been harder times.

There have been harder times to be a revolutionary socialist, and October 1928 was one such time. The situation then was somewhat different from now. Certainly the prospects for socialism didn't look very promising to anybody. And many got discouraged and lost all perspective of the future. The reason was they saw things from too close a view — what was before their eyes — and did not see them in process, with a historical perspective and a Marxist analysis.

Why, in 1928, don't you know? — there were people who thought that the boom was going to last forever! The world situation seemed to have turned definitively to the stabilization of capitalism. The great promise that had been raised by the Russian Revolution of 1917, which carried with it a great revolutionary wave across Europe for five years, had finally subsided. The Russian Revolution survived, but it was isolated in a capitalist world. The German revolution, which had been counted upon as the great reinforcement, which would seal the doom of capitalism all over Europe, which had every possibility of success, had been defeated finally in 1923 for lack of a revolutionary party capable of leading it to victory as Lenin's party did in Russia.

And on the basis of that terrible defeat, capitalism got re-stabilized in Europe. Reaction set in. In one country after another, the labor movement, the communist movement was pushed backward. And in America, the great boom of the twenties was roaring along at such an unprecedented rate that almost everybody began to believe — it's hard for you to realize it now, perhaps, or to recall it, after the experiences later — but almost everybody believed, including the capitalists themselves! — they thought that out of their own thick heads they had found the solution of the contradictions of capitalism. And the economists in the colleges were writing, writing, writing: "Marx has been refuted! American capitalist genius has solved the problem!"

And Social-Democrats from Germany sent delegations over here to study the workings of American capitalism, so that they could go back home and tell their own capitalists: Why don't you do like that and solve the problem and then we won't need a revolution or anything like that! And every labor faker in the country was sure that what was going on then would go on forever. And virtually all the leaders of the Communist Party eventually got reconciled to the idea that the Marxist prognosis of contradictions of capitalism leading to crisis and revolution were no longer operating in this country, that the "old books" didn't have the answer any more.

How the CP Was Softened Up

The Stalinist gang in the Soviet Union, limited and narrow in their outlook, concerned only with their own privileges, abandoned all hope of the international revolution. They began to think only in national terms and evolved a new "theory," revising Marx and Lenin and their theory of the international revolution developing in stages from one country to another until it engulfed the world and transformed the world. They evolved the monstrous conception of "socialism in one country," by which they really meant — revisionists never tell the truth, they never say what they really mean, they always speak in double-talk — what they really meant was: no revolution outside of Russia.

One revolution is enough, they thought; let us try to save what we have here, come to terms with the capitalists for the status quo in the rest of the world, and transform the communist parties from revolutionary organizations aiming to lead the masses in revolution into miserable pressure groups in the service of Soviet diplomacy. That was the program foisted, step by step, upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by the Stalinists in the period of reaction in the twenties. This monstrous revisionism and betrayal — revisionism has always been the prelude to betrayal — culminated in 1927 with the expulsion, from the Communist Party, of Trotsky and the other great leaders of the Revolution.

Here in the United States the long boom of the twenties, with no intervening crisis, softened up the Communist Party in this country and got it ready for the corruption of Stalinism. The leaders of the Communist Party became convinced that there could be no revolution in this country in the foreseeable future; that the United States, in any case, was an "exception" to the Marxist law.

Now I must say the theory of the leaders of the Communist Party, as it was evolved in that long, difficult period of the boom and the prosperity, was agreed to by nearly everybody else in the country. That was almost a unanimous opinion.

But we didn't agree. A few of us didn't agree. A few of us had read "the books." And from the books we derived a theory and a conviction that what was before our eyes was only temporary and superficial. We held on to the old theory that the contradictions of capitalism would explode and upset it and create the conditions for revolution.

In the very first issue of The Militant, comrades, in the very first issue of our Militant published a few days after we were expelled from the Communist Party, we printed an assertion that the boom which had everybody fascinated, already showed signs of cracking and was heading for a bust and a crisis. And that this crisis would shake U.S. capitalism to its foundations and that out of that crisis and the misery and oppression and horrors that would follow would come a new working class. And a new labor movement and the conditions for building a revolutionary party.

And we said about the Soviet Union and the Stalin program, in our first number of **The Militant** 25 years ago: The Stalinist program of Socialism in one country is a revisionist betrayal of Marxism. The Trotsky program of international revolution is realistic and right and we will support it at all costs, no matter how small our numbers may be, because we believe the program will carry us to victory in the end.

And we said that the issue would not be decided by the vote at the meeting where we made our declaration and were expelled from the Communist Party. We said we would support the program of international revolution as advanced by Trotsky, and on that rock we would build a new party in this country. That's what we started out to do 25 years ago.

I'll admit now what I wouldn't admit then, that it was not easy at the start. The Stalinists gave us a rough time. We were only a handful of people. They expelled us. They broke up our meetings. When we tried to hold a meeting they brought in a mob and broke up meeting after meeting, and beat up all the Trotskyists. Beat us up on the streets. Burglarized our houses. In the same **Daily Worker** that is today boosting Wagner, the Democrat, for Mayor, they slandered us every day as "agents of American imperialism" and "counter-revolutionists."

That sounds funny now doesn't it? That the supporters of Wagner, that the finks who broke strikes during the Second World War; that the finger men of the FBI, during the war; that the advocates of the incentive pay speed-up of the workers during the war — that these people called us "agents of American imperialism" and "counter-revolutionists" 25 years ago! I say it sounds funny now but it wasn't so funny then.

We were isolated and alone. They had the audience; they had the daily press; they had the apparatus; they had the money — and nobody was listening to us. It makes me laugh ironically when I hear people say these days: "What's the use of running an election campaign, nobody is listening to you." I wonder what such faint-hearted people would have said in 1928, when we tried to explain the problems arising out of the great theoretical fight in the Russian Communist Party, and nobody would listen because nobody was interested.

Did I say nobody listened? That's not quite correct. A few listened. And a few more. And out of our constant pounding and pounding and talking and talking whether the people would listen or not, we assembled the original cadres of this party. People listen now a hundred and a thousand times more. We didn't have the forces for an election campaign then. We couldn't dream of getting on the radio. We couldn't dream of having a meeting of this size, to say nothing of having a television audience in those days.

What We Had for Support

But we had something else. We had conviction in our program, and that's a mighty strong prop of support. In the fight for Socialism you have to encounter and expect difficulties. You have to expect hard times on some occasions. But you can stand them on certain conditions — if you have a clear historical perspective, if you are not overwhelmed by the events of the moment but see in the events of the moment that a different thing is preparing for tomorrow. If you have a clear historical perspective and a clear head you can be a revolutionist under any conditions. Of course, it helps too if you have a good "belly" too as the boys say. That helps. As a matter of fact, if you haven't got a good "belly" it's very difficult to be a consistent revolutionist in good times and bad.

We had all that in the early days. That's a fact. And we still have it. And in addition, we had on our side in that unequal fight in the beginning, we had the greatest political thinker of modern times. That was Comrade Trotsky. That made the difference.

When we started our fight he was in exile in Alma Ata, in Asian Russia, thousands of miles away. We had no contact with him but we had some of his writings in our hands, his criticism of the program. That was our only connection with him at the start. Later on, after he was deported to Turkey, we got direct contact with Trotsky and had him and his advice and his thinking all the time.

And we still have Trotsky, despite the fact that the Stalinists finally assassinated him The greatest political thinker, the greatest revolutionist, the most heroic man of modern times — they finally assassinated him in 1940. But we still have Trotsky's writings as our guide.

And we are convinced by all the evidence that the whole course of world development in the last 25 years has confirmed Trotsky's analysis. The stabilization of capitalism in 1928, which the Stalinists took for permanent, which was supposed to last indefinitely, lasted only one more year. Just one year and 2 days after I made my speech in that Stalinist Central Committee meeting, and told them that this boom would not last and would run into a crisis which could change the whole thing and open up the perspectives of the revolutionary party — just one year and two days after we were expelled and organized the original nucleus of the SWP, the great boom blew up.

On October 29, 1929, the stock market crash sent its reverberations throughout the world, and capitalism began to writhe in its death agony of crisis and war and revolution from which it can never be extricated. We were confident of that when we started out 25 years ago. Today, on our 25th anniversary, we are more confident than ever for firmer reasons and with stronger proofs from all the events of the past 25 years.

We are frequently spoken of as "optimists." Throughout the labor movement we Trotskyists have become known far and wide in these 25 years because we have been active on many fronts. They all see the Trotskyists always with the same attitude and the same spirit, and our "optimism" has been frequently noted and spoken about by friends as well as by enemies." "The Trotskyists," they say, "are very optimistic people." Now, there's a certain justification for this opinion of us, but it shouldn't be taken one-sidedly. We are not cheerful idiots by any means. We are not optimistic about everything. Our optimism is a discriminating, selective, reasonably based optimism.

Pessimists and Optimists

About some things we are pessimistic. For example, we are pessimistic and have not a trace of confidence in the future of capitalism. In that, I think, we have a common bond with the highest brains of American capitalism who are very doubtful in their own minds too. They don't know what's going to be, and say so frankly in their financial organs. In 1928 they were all happy and confident, but now they're all full of doubts and gloom, and they wish somebody would tell them that things are not as bad as they look. We can't tell them that because we're honest, we always tell the truth, and the truth is that things are worse than they look for capitalism. That's all we can tell them. We have not a trace of confidence in the future of capitalism in this country or in any other country.

On the other hand, we are optimistic and for good sound reasons, about the prospects of revolution in all countries, including this one.

We are pessimistic, profoundly pessimistic, about anybody's chances to revise the basic program upon which our party and our world movement has been founded and built. Our party was born in struggle against Stalinist revisionism, don't forget that. Our party began in a doctrinal struggle against a revision of the Marxist program. The party was steeled and strengthened in a great doctrinal battle against Burnhamite revisionism in 1939-1940 in the last year of Trotsky's life, when he directly participated and led the party in our fight against the revisionists. In the course of these and other doctrinal battles we became real Trotskyites, and proud to bear the name.

Trotsky's teachings have been assimilated into our flesh and blood and bone. His teachings have sustained us for 25 years, and enabled us to stand up against all pressures, and to endure all hardships, and still persevere and continue and fight and hope and believe in the future. And if someone asks: "What are the chances now to change us after all this, to 'revise' us so to speak, at this late date?" We would have to answer pessimistically: "No chance whatever." **The Trotskyites are fixed the way they are and there's no chance to tamper with their orthodox doctrines or the program of their party. That they will not allow, and it's an utterly pessimistic enterprise for anybody to even contemplate.**

On the other hand, we are optimistic and we have unlimited confidence in the program upon which we have built our party — the program derived from the basic doctrine of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. As we start off on the second 25 years of our struggle for socialist America there are two things we need and two things we've got. First, is the conviction, based on theoretical analysis and living evidence of development in the last 25 years, that capitalism cannot survive and that international socialist revolution is already knocking at the door. That's our profound conviction of the state of the world as it looks from here tonight. And the second asset we have is the conviction that the program, formulated by Trotsky in his lifetime — in the latter 11 years in direct collaboration with us — is the only program to organize the revolution and to lead it to definitive victory and the transition to socialism.

We celebrate our glorious 25th anniversary tonight at the halfway mark of our journey and our task, with our work only half done. Twenty-five years ago, last Wednesday, we started from scratch, with only a handful of people and a program, to build the new party of the American Revolution. We've succeeded with that half of our task. On the basis of the Trotskyist program, we have built a party whose cadres can never be broken.

In the next 25 years the cadres of this party, armed with the same program, will grow and expand and become the leaders and organizers of the Socialist Revolution in the United States. That's the way it's going to be.

DURING THE GERMAN CRISIS THE MILITANT APPEARS 3 TIMES A WEEK!

THE MILITANT

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOLUME VI, NO. 8 [WHOLE NO. 155] NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 15, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany!

Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

Hitler Threat to Soviet Union | Nazis Murder | Fascism: Italian and Germ...

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

VOLUME VI, NO. 21 [WHOLE NO. 168] NEW YORK, SATURDAY APRIL 1, 1933 PRICE 5 CENTS

For the United Defense against Hitlerism!

A Talk with the Socialist Workers by Leon Trotsky

In early 1933, the ringing appeals of Leon Trotsky to the German working-class parties and to the international working-class to unite in revolutionary struggle against Hitler, who had just come to power, were history-making headlines in The Militant. Two typical headlines of the period are shown. After the capitulation of the Stalinized German Communist Party before Hitler, Trotsky declared the Third International bankrupt and called for a Fourth International.

Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVII - No. 45 Monday, November 9, 1953

LEON TROTSKY MEMORIAL ISSUE

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX—No. 33 NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY AUGUST 18, 1945 PRICE: FIVE CENTS

THERE IS NO PEACE!

Only World Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction In Another Imperialist War

Workers Of America! You Must Take Power Into Your Own Hands!

MANIFESTO of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

WORKERS, FARMERS — TOILERS OF AMERICA!

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six years of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contemplate the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak which the war has caused. People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They can not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in America, where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the peoples of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a combined population of 660,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, astounding to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hatred of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political conclusions. The imperialist rulers, who alone have profited from the war, seek to prevent this at all costs. They want to sidetrack the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible.

THE ONLY VICTOR

very beginning up to the time of discovery. It is known also to the capitalist ruling class of Canada, which likewise, took part in the project.

would, and that "any nation could learn the secret in about five years of experimentation, assuming it had access to the necessary raw materials."

the antagonisms has shifted. War is the end result of the ceaseless capitalist hunt for profits, markets, colonies, spheres of influence. It is a lie that war can be prevented by treaties and agreements among the imperialist bandits. The League of Nations could not prevent war. It was dead and buried before World War II broke out. The United Nations organization will not be able to prevent a third world war. Its very formula of "peace by force" implies war and not peace. In unguarded moments the imperialists admit that they know of no way to prevent war. The admission is implicit in the maintenance of gigantic armaments. First Washington dispatches on the atomic bomb quotes official quarters as saying this new weapon would "revolutionize all future warfare." Could anything be plainer?

America Will Not Escape

Nor should any man deceive himself that America will escape the annihilating blasts of the atomic bomb in a future war. Air power and sea power will afford no sure protection. Scientists already tell us that an air force will not be necessary to carry this new missile on its deadly mission. It will be fired by remote controls in the form of a jet-propelled rocket that will speed to its target at a lightning rate and with unerring accuracy. New York or Detroit or Los Angeles will be as vulnerable as Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It is at this point that the liberal apologists and defenders of the bloody capitalist system come forward to explain that the new weapon makes future wars "unthinkable," because its extensive use would mean the utter annihilation of the human race. Thus another dangerous illusion is sown.

After World War I there were liberals who declared that another war was "unthinkable." Now that mankind has suffered another terrible blood-bath, do they seek to inquire why the "unthinkable" came to pass? They do not. For honest inquiry leads straight to the conclusion that under capitalism wars are inevitable and unescapable, and that once war begins all the diabolical instruments of killing and destruction are brought into play. The liberal fakers are employed, and generously paid, to cover up for capitalism, to mislead the masses by sowing illusions, and thus divert them from the struggle for socialism which alone can end the horrors of war for all time. That is why, while quaking in their shoes at the realization of what the atomic bomb means, they can only mutter the senseless incantation that a new war is "unthinkable."

THEY know of no way!

But there IS a way — THE WAY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

No Time to Lose!

Here is an issue of The Militant famous round the world. While the capitalist and Stalinist press hailed the close of World War II as the dawn of "enduring peace," we told the truth: "There Is No Peace." We pointed out on Aug. 18, 1945, that a new and more horrible world war was in the making unless the workers take power and establish socialism.

MILITANT DISTRIBUTORS ASSAULTED BY GOONS

NEW YORK, Nov. 2 — Two distributors of the Militant, one a young woman, were assaulted by goons at a CIO Rally for Wagner last Thursday evening when they attempted to circulate the paper outside Manhattan Center. The Militant distribution was in support of the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, which is running David L. Weiss for mayor in tomorrow's election.

After distributing papers for only a few minutes, two of three distributors were approached by John Hunt, New York port agent for the CIO National Maritime Union, and told: "We don't want any commies around here. Beat it."

Both distributors insisted on their right to hand out a workers newspaper. Hunt thereupon summoned a goon squad, which proceeded to physically attack the two distributors and tear up the Militants in their possession.

The young woman, less than five feet tall, was punched around the head and face, leaving bruises and welts. The man was shoved up against the wall by six assailants and "worked over."

SWP candidate Weiss the next day sent the following telegram to Joseph Curran, NMU President: "LAST NIGHT A GOON SQUAD ORGANIZED AND LED BY JOHN HUNT NMU PORT AGENT ATTACKED AND BEAT UP ELECTION CAMPAIGN WORKERS DISTRIBUTING CAMPAIGN MATERIAL OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. WILL YOU DISASSOCIATE NMU FROM THIS ACTION AND CONDEMN IT?"

No reply to this protest has yet been received. This is the only time Militant distributors have been molested in this campaign.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1953 — NUMBER 45

The Negro Struggle

Our Proud Record

By Albert Parker

"The trade union bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats of false Communism, live in the atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers. It will be a tragedy if the Oppositionists are infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most deprived, to the darkest strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negro, whom capitalist society has converted into a pariah, and who must learn to see in us his revolutionary brothers. And this depends wholly upon our energy and devotion to the work."

This quotation is from a letter to **The Militant** by Leon Trotsky, printed May 1, 1929 — the first letter the exiled Soviet leader was able to send this paper, in which he outlined his opinions on the tasks facing American Marxists. Trotsky's attitude of uncompromising struggle against Jim Crow in every form was shared by **The Militant** from the beginning, and has characterized it throughout its 25-year history.

Every important battle in defense of Negro rights in this quarter-century has been reported and supported in this paper, every attack on Negroes and the fight for equality has been exposed and opposed vigorously. The Scottsboro frameup of 22 years ago is one example; EVERY important development of that historic case is recorded in the pages of **The Militant**.

We emphasize the word "EVERY" because that is one of the things that distinguished our coverage of the Scottsboro case from that of the **Daily Worker**. When the Scottsboro Defense Committee made a dirty and unprincipled deal with the Alabama authorities in the mid-1930's, agreeing to have some of the defendants plead guilty in return for letting others go free, our paper exposed the deal and called on the people to repudiate it.

The **Daily Worker**, being implicated in that deal, denied that it ever had been made and denounced us as "disrupters." But the truth came out into the open two years ago when the chairman of the Scottsboro committee admitted that our charges were correct, and that the Communist Party had approved the deal with the Jim Crow authorities.

But it was not until World War II that **The Militant** became widely known as the most reliable champion of the fight against Jim Crow. The big issues in the struggle before Pearl Harbor were segregation in the armed forces and barriers against employment in the plants, and thousands of workers were first educated and involved in the fight against these evils through this paper.

The Militant, to take one example out of many, was the only paper, outside of the Negro press, to report the facts in the case of the U.S.S. Philadelphia, where 15 Negro sailors were court-martialed in 1940 because they dared to sign a letter protesting segregation and abuse as mess-attendants. It was the only paper to organize a campaign of defense of the Negro sailors in the first open struggle against segregation in World War II.

The Militant was also in the forefront of the fight to win jobs for Negroes in the war industries. Its support of the Negro March on Washington Movement, before anyone had ever coined the expression FEPC, was one of its proudest achievements. While many Negro papers tried to duck the issue and omitted all news about the MOWM, this paper gave it the most publicity and support — more than it received from any other paper in the country, white or Negro — and hundreds of its readers became active participants and local leaders in the fight that forced Roosevelt to create the wartime FEPC.

The Militant's reputation in the Negro community rose by leaps and bounds with every month of the war because everyone could see that there was no more fearless opponent of white supremacy. The contrast with the **Daily Worker**, especially after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and the Stalinists became the most rabid patriots, was plain for all to see: While the Stalinists told the Negroes to subordinate and postpone their fight for equality until after the war, we won thousands of new friends by opposing the war and championing every just demand of the Negro people and the workers generally.

In fact, this was one of the things about us that most irked the Roosevelt administration. In 1943 the Justice and Post Office Departments set out to suppress **The Militant** by cancelling our mailing privileges, and prominent among their charges against us was the fact that we had vigorously supported the March on Washington Movement and called on the Negro people to fight without compromise and without delay for all their social, economic and political rights — despite the war.

The attempt to suppress this paper for telling the truth was defeated — thanks, partly, to the protests raised in its behalf by Negro and labor groups.

War is a test for every socialist paper and movement, and **The Militant** met the test face-on and honorably. It did not run away or try to hide its opinions, but stood up, unafraid of persecution, and spoke the truth as it saw it. A paper that does that establishes its right to existence, and proves that it can be relied on in peace as well as in war.

In war and in peace, **The Militant** has fought the good fight. It struggled to save the life of Odell Waller, Virginia sharecropper who was legally lynched in 1942 for defending himself against a white man. It revealed the truth about the 1943 anti-Negro riot in Detroit and the anti-Jim Crow demonstration in Harlem. It organized a national campaign against the Fontana, Calif., atrocity where a Negro family was burned to death by Ku Klux Klan forces.

The Freeport case of 1946, where Negro veterans were shot down in cold blood by cops; the terror in Tennessee the same year, where a whole community was attacked; the trial of James Hickman, Chicago worker indicted for killing a landlord responsible for the death of Hickman's children; the case of the Trenton Six in 1948; the Groveland, Fla., lynchings and legal lynchings in 1949 and 1951; the Cicero riot in 1951 and dozens of bombings of Negro homes in Chicago; the brutal murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, the NAACP leaders in Florida — in all these cases no paper surpassed **The Militant** in exposing the guilty and in summoning white and Negro workers to combat them.

If it had done nothing else, **The Militant** would have sufficient reason to be proud as it celebrates its 25th anniversary. But it has done more, much more. Among other things, it has armed white and Negro workers with the program to end Jim Crow altogether. When the conditions become favorable, the seeds planted by **The Militant** will produce their proper fruit in a society completely free of segregation, discrimination and exploitation.

Kutcher Housing Oath Court Appeal Is Filed

NEWARK, Oct. 31 — The Kutcher housing case moved closer to a court decision last week when the final brief was filed in the New Jersey Superior Court.

The case began last December when the Newark Housing Authority ordered all federal housing tenants to sign an oath certifying that no one occupying their apartments belonged to any organization included on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Those who failed to sign the oath, required by the 1952 congressional Gwinn amendment, were threatened with eviction.

ACLU ACTS

When nine families refused to sign and eviction proceedings were started the American Civil Liberties Union stepped in on behalf of two of the families and took the issue to the state courts in order to restrain the evictions and get the Gwinn amendment declared unconstitutional. Pending a final decision, the courts directed the NHA to suspend eviction moves for all nine families.

The ACLU attorney, Emil Oxfeld, handled the case for James Kutcher, the legless veteran; Kutcher's father; and Harry L. Lawrence.

Lawrence, a teacher, does not belong to any group on the Attorney General's blacklist, and has no objection to signing "loyalty oaths" as a teacher. But he was opposed as a matter of principle to signing any oath as a tenant. Since the case went into court, Lawrence has moved out of the public project.

GUILT BY RELATIONSHIP

Kutcher's 74-year-old father also does not belong to any organization on the blacklist. But he became involved in the case because, as head of the family, he was directed to sign the oath. He could not sign it truthfully because his son, James, is an admitted member of the Socialist Workers Party.

In fact, for the last five years the son has figured publicly in one of the key civil liberties cases of the current witch hunt. James Kutcher was fired from the Veterans Administration in 1948 solely because of his SWP membership. Contending that neither he nor his party is subversive, he demands that he be restored to his job and that the "subversive" list be declared unconstitutional. His eleventh appeal in the VA case was filed in federal court in Washington earlier this month.

The ACLU brief in the housing case notes the fact that the SWP has never received a hearing on the "subversive" designation it arbitrarily got from the Attorney General. This means that the Attorney General never produced any evidence for the designation and never allowed the SWP to refute the charge. The U.S. Supreme Court called such procedure "patently arbitrary" in a 5-to-3 decision in 1951.

"HAPPINESS OF MANY"

The Newark Housing Authority's brief, filed last week, argued that no constitutional rights were infringed by excluding tenants who refuse to sign the oath. It claimed that this was a case where "the selfish few would prevent the court from protecting the rights and happiness of many."

It did not explain how the rights and happiness of many would be protected by depriving them of the right to belong to legal organizations of their own choice.

The NHA also said, "Non-signers should not be permitted to dictate under what rules they will accept the bounties of Congress." As **Congress Weekly**, the American Jewish Congress magazine, pointed out last winter, under this doctrine "non-signers" could be excluded from the benefits of the public schools, the fire department and even the use of the highways — all of which are financed by public funds.

Superior Court Judge Freund will render a decision in this case on the basis of the written briefs. The ACLU intends to take the case to the federal courts if it gets an unfavorable decision in the state courts.

In a similar case in the New York courts last July, Justice Martuscello denounced the Gwinn amendment as unconstitutional and efforts to evict tenants under it as "arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable."

James Kutcher's own account of the housing case is contained in his book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, published this month.

Victimized

JAMES KUTCHER

Labor and Daily Press Comments On Kutcher Book

James Kutcher's book, **The Case of the Legless Veteran**, which was published last month, is beginning to attract attention and comment in the daily and labor press.

"The much argued case of Kutcher, a Newark resident, is summed up in this impressive volume," says the review in the Oct. 29 Newark Evening News, a conservative newspaper with the largest circulation in New Jersey.

Reporting how Kutcher was fired from his job with the Veterans Administration in 1948 because he belonged to the Socialist Workers Party, which is on the Attorney General's arbitrary "subversive" list, the **News** review notes: "No actual act of disloyalty was ever alleged against him; his discharge was automatic and without a trial.

"Since then Kutcher has been indefatigable in seeking reinstatement. He has pleaded his case before hundreds of organizations all over the country, has won the support of many of them, particularly here in New Jersey. With the help of a defense fund the case was carried into court, lost at first, then won on appeal. But the VA has refused to reinstate him. . . This book is issued to inform the public in detail what has happened."

CIO NEWS ARTICLE

An even longer article on the book appears in the November issue of the **New Jersey CIO News**. The New Jersey CIO was the first of the hundreds of labor organizations in this country that came to the aid of the legless veteran.

After summarizing the contents of the book, the CIO News writes:

"The 40-year-old veteran announced that he will donate all his royalties from the book to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a non-partisan group formed in 1948 to help him recover his job. The committee, which has raised funds to help his legal appeals, is composed of prominent labor, liberal, church, academic and artistic figures. Among the founders were the late Dr. John Dewey, educator and philosopher, and Carl Holderman, State CIO president. Eight hundred national and local organizations, including more than 70 in New Jersey, have supported its work, although disagreeing with Kutcher's politica views."

Then, after listing the CIO and liberal organizations that are supporting Kutcher's fight, the article concludes:

"The book includes a letter from the late Philip Murray, expressing his deep interest in the case; a statement by Carl Holderman explaining the issues involved; and a resolution by the State CIO Convention endorsing the work of the Kutcher committee and pledging continued support until the case is won."

BRITISH REVIEW

The first review received from England, where the book was published after American publishers found it too hot to handle, appeared in the Oct. 2 issue of **Socialist Outlook**, the weekly paper of the left wing in the British Labor Party. Its review said in part:

"The book gives a remarkable insight into the witch hunt which is today ravaging American democracy. . . But the fight against the new totalitarianism is growing and James Kutcher, the legless veteran, has become the symbol of that fight."

30-Hour Week Program Gains Wider Support

Ford Facts, published by CIO United Automobile Workers Local 600, largest local union in the country, in its Oct. 31 issue headlines the support which the program for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay is gaining inside the auto union and the labor movement.

The Ford 600 delegates fought for this program at the last UAW national convention against the opposition of UAW President Walter Reuther and his lieutenants.

Ford Facts reports on the action of a number of California General Motors locals and the General Motors Sub-Council of the UAW in adopting resolutions calling on the UAW top leaders "to take immediate action on a program calling for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay for all plants under the jurisdiction of the International Union." The paper publishes the GM Sub-Council resolution in full.

"GAINING ACCEPTANCE"

The article takes note of the fact that the program is now "gaining general acceptance throughout the Labor Movement. The Garment Workers, the Woodworkers, the United Mine Workers, and now the entire American Federation of Labor, are asking for a **shorter work week.**"

When Ford Local 600 first advocated the "30 for 40" program in the UAW, Ford Facts recalls, "we were called every conceivable name under the sun. At the last UAW convention, the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay was branded as 'Communist'-inspired demagoguery and economic stupidity. Since that time, however, President Dubinsky of the Garment Workers Union has won a shorter work week. The CIO Brewery Workers were on strike and were successful in gaining a shorter work week and, last but by no means least, the AFL in its recent convention, went on record for a shorter work week."

"Yes, we in Local 600 are proud that we have been in the forefront of organized labor in mapping an economic program. This could only be done with the support and understanding of the Ford workers and will bear fruit to the degree that it is supported by all workers," says Ford Facts.

"The rank and file workers throughout the country are making their sentiments known. **It behooves the International Union;** in fact it behooves the leadership of organized Labor generally to become aware of these grass roots rumblings from the dues-paying membership. To lead, one must be **in advance and if the leadership** does not stay in front of the membership, they will become trampled."

The article addresses itself to "the top echelons to let us unitedly fight for a 30-hours week with 40 hours' pay. Let us fight for a guaranteed annual wage. Let us combine these two objectives in our fight for 1955." The inclusion of the guaranteed annual wage along with the demand for a shorter work week with no loss of take-home pay answers Reuther's attempt to falsely make the two demands mutually exclusive.

Ford Facts expresses the hope that Reuther, as CIO President, will use his prestige and high office at the coming CIO Convention in Cleveland, starting Nov. 16, to put the CIO on record for the shorter-work-week program and show that the CIO is not lagging behind the AFL in pushing for this vital program to meet growing unemployment.

RAISED IN MILITANT

The new interest in the program of the sliding scale of hours, which is concretized in the "30 for 40" slogan, is especially gratifying to the Militant. We raised the slogan of the 30-hour week back in 1930, in one of our earliest issues, as a key demand for the workers to meet the depression threat. Over the years, the **Militant** has continued to explain and popularize this program, even while many in both the ranks and leadership of labor became fooled into thinking that U.S. capitalism no longer faced the threat of depressions and mass unemployment.

Today, as Ford Facts has described, the slogan of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay is becoming a living reality of the labor movement, gaining headway every day.

Ceylon Trotskyists Put Pro-Stalinists to Rout

A pro-Stalinist minority grouping has split from the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, according to a report of the party published in the Oct. 29 Samasamajist. The group walked out at a Party Conference Oct. 18 when their views came under attack from the overwhelming majority of the delegates.

The Samasamajist reports that an internal struggle had been going on within the party for three years. The democratic rights of the minority were rigorously safeguarded by the majority. They were given full opportunity to express their views before the membership, and even had equal representation in the central control bodies. But when two pro-Stalinist resolutions submitted by them to the conference were decisively and emphatically rejected, they decided to "withdraw."

ISSUES REVEALED

"This group withdrew from the Conference on the untrue plea that they had been labelled Stalinists," says the statement. "No speaker at the Conference called them Stalinists; though many a speaker correctly designated their views as Stalinist. They have since separated themselves from the Party on the false plea that the Party does not stand for the United Front while they do. On the contrary, the National Resolution accepted by the Conference stressed the struggle for a United Front of the working class parties on the road to the replacement of the capitalist UNP Government with an Anti-Capitalist Government.

"The resolution of this group, which the Conference rejected, instead counterposed programmatic unity with the Stalinists to the United Front of the working class parties. Above all, their propaganda now seeks misleadingly to present their action as a move in the interests of Left Unity. But it is surely absurd and criminally irresponsible to break unity in the name of unity and to set up a fourth 'party' in the name of a struggle for the unity of the three existing Left parties! It is a disruptionist move which does not help Left unity but hinders Left unity enormously."

The group of splitters, which is headed by P. H. William de Silva, is composed largely of petty-bourgeois elements who had lost faith in the capacity of the workers of Ceylon. They dragged their feet in the recent nationwide stoppage ("Hartal") which was led by the orthodox Trotskyists of Ceylon.

Some of them are deluded by the hope of a possible "regeneration" of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which would find its reflection in the Ceylonese Stalinist movement. Some seek opportunist advantage by cutting their ties with orthodox Trotskyism.

The Lanka Samasamaja Party characterizes their behavior as "criminally irresponsible" and as "a move which helps and has already directly helped the UNP Government." They are "running away from revolution."

The Party statement ends up with the following declaration:

"THE PARTY GOES ON"

"The Party goes on and forward despite them. The Party organizes, carries forward and develops the mass struggle against the capitalist UNP Government despite them. The Party continues its principled struggle for the United Front of the working class parties despite them. The Party pursues this objective not as an end in itself like these false politicians, but as the means to the achievement of the political objective of the masses; namely, the replacement of the capitalist UNP Government with an Anti-Capitalist Government. In that struggle, the Party will continue to keep its guns trained on the UNP-led capitalist foe and not on the Party's critics within the Left. The Party goes with the masses and at their head — against the capitalist rulers and their imperialist overlords. Surmounting every setback, confident of ultimate victory, the Party continues its 18-year-old struggle for a Samasamaja Ceylon!"

STALINISTS SPREAD NEW LIE ABOUT TROTSKYISTS

A new slander is being spread by the Stalinists. They are carrying on an intensive whispering campaign that "a Trotskyite tried to murder Robert Thompson," the imprisoned Communist Party leader, and that "the would-be assassin is being defended by Trotskyites." These are both downright lies.

The signal for this whispering campaign came from the **Daily Worker**. In its accounts of Thompson's assailant, it repeatedly states: "And he was being defended by the Workers Defense League, a Trotskyite organization."

WDL NOT TROTSKYIST

While in no way subscribing to the **Daily Worker's** guilt-by-association smear of the Workers Defense League, it is necessary for us to state the facts. The Workers Defense League is in no way, shape or form "a Trotskyite organization." As anyone familiar with the labor movement knows, it is an organization whose leadership reflects liberal and social-democratic views.

Trotskyists have no connection with Thompson's assailant. They call for the latter's full punishment. However, the real culprit is the government-instigated witch hunt. Indeed, it is a savage commentary on the political atmosphere in America when a man awaiting deportation thinks he can win citizenship by crushing the skull of a Communist Party leader.

Our record on Thompson and the other imprisoned Stalinist leaders is clear. This paper was one of the few anti-Stalinist voices raised against the Smith Act frame-up of Thompson and his colleagues. It calls for their **release and an end to the political persecution of the Communist Party. Not because we have any political sympathy for Stalinism, but because we believe in civil liberties.**

WHY THIS SMEAR

Why does Stalinism attempt this monstrous frame-up to smear Trotskyism with political assassination? It is because Stalinism's own record is so thoroughly besmirched with that very crime — including the murder of Trotsky. It wants to convince its own rank-and-filers and others that its principal political foe and victim of its assassins — the Trotskyist movement — is guilty of the same crime.

It is too late in the political day for Stalinism to convince public opinion with its latest fabrication. Its "credentials" — the Moscow "confession" trials and the assassination of Leon Trotsky — are too widely known. At the same time the credentials of Trotskyism — the proud record of the Socialist Workers Party — is open to all and can withstand the sharpest scrutiny.

Notes from the News

STRUGGLE IN THE ACLU. The American Civil Liberties Union is in the throes of a struggle over basic civil liberties questions. A referendum of ACLU branches was recently taken on propositions to water down the organization's stand on guilt-by-association, loyalty purges, and discharge of those who invoke the Fifth Amendment. The referendum went against watering down the traditional civil liberties position. Of the ACLU's 23 branches, 19 voted against the propositions, three voted for, and one abstained. It is feared, however, that the ACLU's Board of Directors is about to override the referendum.

* * *

AFL SECRETARY-TREASURER William Schnitzler told the Kentucky Federation of Labor convention how the Eisenhower administration had dealt with "the mess in Washington." "They cleaned it up, all right. They washed its face, pinned a rose on it, put it in the Social Register and gave it membership in the Country Club," said Schnitzler. However, he credited the Republicans with having got rid of five-percenters: "They brought in scabs who do the work at four per cent and even three per cent. Those are just about the only prices, other than farm prices, that have gone down since the last election."

* * *

"MILLIONAIRE'S CABINET." U.S. News & World Report carries an article to show that appointing millionaires to cabinet posts didn't originate with Eisenhower. Under Roosevelt 28 per cent of cabinet rank appointees were millionaires; Truman appointed 19 per cent; however, Eisenhower's record to date is 50 per cent.

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FASHION NOTE. That weekly Bible of executives, Business Week, points out a new trend in men's clothing including a $15 bow tie made of mink.

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MEMBERSHIP in the British Labor Party has increased by over a quarter million in the last year, bringing the total to 6,100,000. Of the increase, local party units accounted for half, while increased trade union membership brought the other half.

* * *

COST-OF-LIVING hit a new all-time peak in mid-September, government figures show.

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OVER HALF THE U.S. ARMY is stationed in foreign countries — 15 out of 23 Army and Marine divisions.

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KING-SIZED GIVEAWAY. T. M. McCormick secretary-treasurer of the CIO Oil Worker, figured out the value of administration giveaways to Big Business interests of coastal oil lands and other national resources at a trillion dollars. He said: "With one trillion dollars they could buy a $5000 mink coat for every woman over 21 years and a deep freeze to keep it in and still have enough money left over to pay off the entire national debt."

* * *

EXPLOSIONS of privately owned trucks carrying Defense Department ammunition is causing widespread protests. Following an explosion which took four lives in the outskirts of Omaha Nebraska, more explosions took place last week. Near Axtell, Nebraska, a truck loaded with over 30,000 pounds of bombs caught fire and blew up and near Lovelock, Nevada, a burning truck bombarded a quarter-mile area with mortar shells. Mid-Western towns and cities are passing ordinances against passage of ammunition-loaded trucks and the trucking companies are getting court injunctions against the enforcement of such ordinances.

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WEST KENTUCKY COAL CO., the biggest non-union mining company in the U.S., has finally decided to negotiate with the United Mine Workers Union.

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UNION CZAR William Hutcheson of the AFL Carpenters, who died recently, left an estate valued at "several hundred thousand dollars," reported the Oct. 26 Associated Press. To his son Maurice he left the presidency of the union.

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